UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

"While Rome Burns"

By SYDNEY STRONG

Facts for School Histories

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

Thoughts on Patriotism

By JAMES WALDO FAWCETT

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCV MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1925 NUMBER 17

INDIA!

"Mr. H. G. Wells tells us in his great survey of the history of the world, that of the six greatest men in the whole recorded life of humanity, two of the number were sons of India. One of these was Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist faith, which has nearly as many adherents as Christianity, and the other was Asoka, the Buddhist emperor of the third century before Christ, who, as a ruler, was quite as great as Caesar of Rome, and incomparably nobler.

"Nor is the greatness of India confined to the past. We all know that one of the greatest and noblest religious teachers of the modern world is Mahatma Gandhi, and that one of the most eminent poets and educators of our time is Dr. Rabindranath Tagore."

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

The question, Who started the Great War, is answered definitely and finally, for our generation at least, by John S. Ewart's enormously important book just published in two volumes, 1204 finely-printed pages, entitled "The Roots and Causes of the Wars (1914-1918)." We have never handled a more impressive and convincing piece of work. The author, himself an Englishman, has examined all of the stupendous mass of available information, digested it with thoroughness, arranged it with precision, and now presents it to the world in volumes crowded with documents, with first-hand testimony, and with elaborate quotations from a range of sources that covers the world. The book is an example of the highest scholarship—characterized, therefore, by utter impartiality and passionate love of truth for its own sake. Mr. Ewart's general conclusion, which he develops through an exhaustive examination of the case for and against each of the countries concerned, is of course the statement that responsibility for the War is divided, and that Germany by no means bears the first or the chief blame. The myth of German guilt is here exposed once for all! Mr. Ewart's specific conclusions are especially interesting. Thus he declares that "each of the associates, with the exception of Belgium, Turkey, the United States and Greece, commenced hostilities for the purpose of acquiring territory belonging to some other nation." For the actual precipitation of hostilities, he divides responsibility between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, and as between the other powers (Russia, France, Great Britain and Germany) asserts that "blame attaches to Russia." England went to war, says Mr. Ewart, neither in support of Serbia, nor as "an obligation of honor" to France, nor yet in defence of small nations, but simply and solely in pursuit of her own selfish imperialistic interests. The author agrees with Colonel Harvey that the United States entered the struggle to save *not* civilization but herself. He is quite unable to see that Germany was an especial sinner, and denounces the theory that she desired to dominate the world as "a very ridiculous assertion." We have called this book a final piece of work, so far as our generation is concerned. It is also a permanent piece of work, for all future study must begin where Mr. Ewart leaves off, and will serve to establish only the more securely, we believe, his emphatic conclusions.

As one turns the pages of such a book as Mr. Ewart's history, just referred to above, one feels lifted up and exalted at the thought of how indeed

> Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> But Error wounded writhes with pain,
> And dies among her worshippers.

Why ever be discouraged and dismayed? Here it is only a little over ten years since the opening of the World War—only a little over six years since its close. During this War, every channel of truth was blocked, while myriads of artificial channels were everywhere dug for the dissemination of falsehood. Not the least of Mr. Ewart's services, in his great volumes, is his remorseless depiction of how the mind of the world was deceived as to how the War had come and why the nations were in it—how the statesmen lied, how the government documents were altered, falsified and forged, how the newspapers were crammed with myths, how great machines of propaganda were established and kept going day and night for the deliberate manufacture of untruth, how the whole official organization of society became one vast conspiracy for the deceiving of the world. In every country, as Mr. Ewart proves by chapter and verse, the apologists, the fanatics, the official and unofficial liars had full control of the situation. On the other hand, the dissenters were everywhere suppressed; one after another they were imprisoned, exiled, terrorized—and always, of course, *silenced*. But now just a little time has passed—and the truth is already becoming known! The hated pacifists, "defeatists," "pro-Germans"—these are being vindicated as the ones who were right from the beginning and all the time. And they are being vindicated while most of them still live—and while their persecutors still live also, to suffer confusion, and, if they have any consciences, to suffer shame as well! The drama would be complete if only a few of these mad persecutors would rise up and confess, "We were

wrong—God forgive us!" But, failing this, we who suffered in those dreadful days can ourselves rise up and confess, "*We* were wrong, that we ever doubted that truth would at last prevail."

Discussion of England's budget has turned so exclusively on the taxation measures involved, and especially on the dramatic restoration of the gold basis, that the old-age pension proposal submitted in this same budget has passed practically unnoticed. Yet is this proposal in the long run not only the most important part of the budget, but also the most important act of constructive statesmanship attempted in England since the close of the War. It resumes the tradition of the Lloyd-George budgets, and, by adding to sickness insurance and unemployment benefits a thorough-going old-age pension scheme, reties the thread of social progress so tragically snapped by the conflict with Germany. An analysis of Mr. Churchill's program in the pages of the London *Nation,* prepared by Sir William Beveridge, an authority on social insurance, shows that it grants to all men and women over the age of 65, who have been receiving not over 250 pounds a year in wages, a pension of 10 shillings a week. It further provides that all widows shall receive such pensions, with extra allowances for minor children. At the beginning, and for many years to come, the pensions are to be paid largely out of tax receipts. A fund is to be built up, however, by payments levied upon all workers and employers. Thus, men workers must contribute four pence a week to the fund and women workers two pence, with employers contributing an equal amount. These contributions are gradually to be increased to seven pence for men and three and a half pence for women, until the whole scheme becomes absolutely self-supporting. It is a great program, infinitely better than the first old-age pension law of 1909. Sharp criticism has, of course, been visited upon certain of its details, thus the Laborites are complaining because it calls upon the workers to contribute to their own pension fund. Certain of its proposed provisions will probably be altered; thus, the arrangements made for widows seem loose and dangerous. But as a whole it marks the biggest forward step toward the socialized state in our time. And it is worth noting that the step is being taken by Conservatives!

News from Austria, abundant in recent weeks, continues to confirm all that UNITY has consistently forecast from the beginning as to the inevitably disastrous outcome of the League of Nation's scheme for the restoration of that unhappy country. To get the full significance of what is happening, it must be remembered that the time is long since passed when the League promised to have the Austrian budget permanently balanced, the currency stabilized, economic prosperity restored, the League commissioner withdrawn, and affairs once again in the hands of the local officials. As it is, the commissioner is still in charge, and the government nearer collapse and the people more utterly wretched than at any time since the close of the Great War. In sheer desperation, the citizens of Vienna have started a great movement of appeal to the League of Nations for permission to join Germany. More than a million signatures—a sixth of the entire population of the country—will be affixed to this petition, so we are told. To help solve the frightful unemployment problem, which has grown steadily worse ever since the League interfered, the Chamber of Labor in Vienna is proposing that the United States enact a special emergency law admitting 50,000 Austrian skilled workers outside the quota provisions of the Immigration Law. There are now 170,000 unemployed workers in the Austrian capital, and unless this number is reduced by some such measure as this of voluntary exile, starvation and death are immanent. Meanwhile, in a little bit of a half-inch space at the foot of a newspaper column, we read that two economists, Walter T. Layton, of England, and Professor Charles Rist, of France, have been appointed by the League of Nations "to conduct an impartial investigation of the economic conditions of Austria, with a view of hastening the reconstruction of that country and of central Europe." What wonder that the New York *Times,* a staunch friend of the League of Nations is obliged to concede that the "economic future (of Austria) is precarious despite the aid given her by the League"!

Church statistics in England maintain a standard of accuracy which seems to be practically unknown in this country. At any rate statistical reports across the seas bear some recognizable relationship to the actual facts of church life as revealed by even the most casual observation! Thus we are told that the Anglican church has 5000 fewer clergy to-day than it had twenty years ago, and the number of candidates for ordination is considerably below the pre-war figure. In London alone it is estimated that there are no less than 440,000 "lapsed communicants." In addition, the number of children in Anglican Sunday schools is reported to have fallen off by more than 65,000 in the last ten years. (See the *Christian Century,* May 21, page 678). We should like to see what American statisticians could do with these figures! The "lapsed communicants" would every one be on the membership rolls, we may be sure. As for the other figures, they would be transformed by some hocus-pocus into gains which would show how greatly the church is prospering in all departments. But we would not be unfair! There are churches in America which keep honest accounts. Here is the great Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York, for example, on the occasion of the observance of its fiftieth

anniversary in its present building, announcing that during this period "not quite 7000 names have been added to the membership roll, of which 1300 remain." This is an average annual gain in membership of 140, and an average annual loss of 114, or a net annual gain of 26. Such a figure from one of the largest and richest Presbyterian churches in a great Presbyterian city, a church served by such distinguished clergymen as Dr. Jowett, Dr. Kelman, and on occasion Dr. G. Campbell Morgan, carries its own proof of accuracy. When members die in this church, they are evidently buried; when they withdraw, or go to another city, or disappear, their names are stricken from the list. But what if all churches were similarly careful and honest? How much evidence would there be of prosperity in organized Christendom?

Occasionally we get an inquiry as to why we print such discouraging data as this. Sometimes the inquiry is a complaint that we seem to take delight in proclaiming the confusion of the churches. Let us be perfectly frank about this matter! Our first approach to the problem of the present condition of the churches is a purely scientific one. We want to know the facts; and when anything comes along, encouraging or discouraging, that seems to bear the aspect of the facts, we believe that it should be not concealed but set down on the record. Secondly, our attitude is that of an investigator, a "muck-raker" if you will, in any case one who is convinced that a deliberate attempt is being made in this country to cover up the real facts as regards church attendance, church membership, etc. Statistics given out from time to time are at such utter variance with conditions as they can be seen anywhere right under one's nose, that they are simply ludicrous. The *Christian Century,* as we pointed out some weeks ago, discredits the current data in this field as sheer "illusion" where it is not down-right dishonesty. We would expose this situation as something of which the churches should be ashamed and the public informed. Thirdly, our policy on this question is that of one who is deliberately hostile to the whole denominational system as a betrayal of Christianity, who welcomes all evidence of the disintegration of this system, and would himself help on this process of disintegration by every means within his power. We follow this course not because of any hostility to religion and the church. On the contrary, our chief interest in life is religion and our chosen field of service is the church. But we are convinced that religion is going to perish and the church pass away unless both can be delivered from the theological, ecclesiastical, and sectarian "body of death" to which they are now bound. We want "new churches for old." We know no way to proceed but as the builders of new buildings for old proceed in our cities. First, they tear down the ancient, out-worn, delapidated structures which cumber the ground; then, laying fresh foundations on the sheer bedrock, they rear new structures upward to the stars.

"While Rome Burns"

Is the Church, organized Christianity, "fiddling while Rome Burns"? We fear so. Is the Church, organized Christianity, paying attention to "mint and anise and cummin" and omitting "the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith"? We fear so.

Take, for instance, two incidents of recent occurrence that have set the tongues of the people wagging: the "adventure" of Dr. Fosdick in becoming pastor of what is popularly known as "Rockefeller's Church" and the coming pugilistic fight, in Tennessee, over evolution. (A fight that for drawing power will put any of Rickard's shows, in the shade. No wonder our pugilist in another realm—fists—has left the country, for the jaw is proving to be mightier than the fist. Let some preacher now take for his text the classic "jaw-bone" of Judges and dwell upon its power to "slay the Philistines.") These two incidents, for a year to come, will be regarded as of first rate importance by the Church people. One will be interpreted as opening a new chapter in freedom, the other as deciding whether science and religion are to lie down together, in harmony; or whether a yawning gulf is to be "fixed,"—as in the case of Dives and Lazarus. . . These two incidents—seemingly so important in the eyes of the Church folks—appear to us to be "mint and anise"—a case of "fiddling while Rome burns."

As we look across the Pacific and see what is going on in China and Japan and India and ask what Christian people are doing to put out the conflagration, and know that our government, for several months, has been recruiting marines for the purpose of going to China to shoot down students, as they are doing on the day that we write these words—then this great interest on the part of Church folks over evolution and immersion looks like a display of "fiddling" while the world burns.

For, frankly, what is involved in this "adventure" of Dr. Fosdick? (We write in the kindest thought of him personally.) He is to have $5,000 salary, it is announced. Business men will be more impressed by this fact than by his theology; life has become so much commercialized. But, after all isn't this salary big enough? And he is going off for a year of travel and study, which of course can't be done unless one has laid up a little for "a rainy day." In other words, a $5,000 salary in this case contains no spiritually dynamic power. Neither is there any spiritual power in the fact that

non-immersed people will be allowed to enter that prominent church. It is a little like the Methodist bishops lifting the ban on dancing, after half their young people were dancing. It is doing what sensible Baptists in America have been doing for some years, and what all English Baptists have done from the beginning. At least, the great Baptists of England, like Maclaren and Spurgeon, opened their Church doors wide to non-immersed persons. . . And as to a third part of the "adventure, that of putting up a big edifice with equipment for the social demands of city dwellers—of course the idea is not new and can be put down only as a sensible movement for the preservation of an institution. . . So, while wishing Dr. Fosdick well in his new enterprise,—it ought to be clearly seen that there is nothing in it that warrants singing the Doxology." Our fear is that Christian people will fool themselves into believing that it is one of the "weightier matters." We are anxious to know whether it will put out the fire in China and India.

As to the pugilistic encounter over evolution, it is certainly a case of "fiddling." In the first place the question of evolution is one of science, not of religion. Such a question can not be settled by Tennessee mountain feudal methods,—passion, prejudice, ignorance and popular appeal—with an occasional killing. So, thousands of Church people will be set at each other's throats this summer—and people will go there in order to tell it to their children—and will think almost that the angels are looking down upon the scene, so important it is—when as a matter of fact it will be a case of "fiddling," and as to the angels, we feel quite certain that those who sang around the Bethlehem cradle will be absent. What concerns us is not that Mr. Darrow and Mr. Bryan may wish to waste so much talk and time, in battle; for if people like to "chew a rag"—this is a free country—but, that they, like Chantecler, should regard it as so tremendously important. We now assure them and the others engaged in the conflict, that "the ages" are not looking down upon them, and if they are bidding for immortality in what they do in this role, we would advise them to invest in some other enterprise, so as to play safe. . . However, our greatest concern is that while this pugilistic battle is going on, the world is burning up. Energy that should be going to put out the fire is being wasted in "fiddling."

Let it be understood, that religion cannot be promoted by "talkfests" of a pugnacious, divisive nature. Such pugilism is oil on the flames. "Fiddling" may have its place—probably does; but it is not when civilization burns.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of law, judgment, mercy and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the others undone. . . Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

WHILE ROME BURNS. Can it be possible that Christian people are not aware of the social and industrial fire that is spreading throughout the world? Look out over the Pacific. We see American marines shooting down Chinese students, and our newspapers referring to the Chinese as "rebels" and as "natives." We read of "foreigners" taking the place of Chinese strikers. (Suppose Mexicans or Canadians should come in to take the place of American strikers?) We see 1000 British marines coming from Wei Hai Wei and landing at Shanghai. (We thought the British expected to give back Wei Hai Wei. Balfour, at the Arms Conference in Washington, said Britain would return Wei Hai Wei,—when Japan was asked to return Shantung —a part of China that Britain stole when France and Germany were also robbing China of her territory. And this another Anglo-Saxon lie. And Britain is still in Cologne also.) We see our fleet steaming out into the Pacific, now engaged in "defending" the Hawaiian Islands, and then—Australia? New Zealand? The Philippines? China? Japan?—Who knows? Anyway, it can only be a breeder of mischief, this braggart exhibition of our power to kill. . . And the Singapore base,—do you see this, Britain's perpetual threat to India and Asia? And our treatment of Japan—foolish, rude, ignorant, irritating in the extreme; so much so, that if trouble should come between America and Japan it will be America's fault, and every good American should flatly refuse to sustain his government in this and other Asiatic aggressions.

What will "Rockefeller's Church" and the new pastor do in the presence of this world-fire? Will the young men in the pews be told to have "no part in War," be told to frown upon all business enterprises that go into foreign lands and exploit the people of those lands? Will the young men be told that the Anglo-Saxon—of the British and American stripe—has been stealing, *Stealing,* STEALING the globe, until, for example, in South Africa the colored peoples own hardly a foot of land, which a few score years ago was all theirs. . . And what will this fight over Evolution and the Bible contribute to putting out the "fire of hell"? Absolutely nothing. Instead, it will raise up marines to go over and shoot "order" into the Chinese people, who are just as intelligent as Americans, and less brutal and imperious. What have we to offer?

CONFESSION. There must sweep over the American people a wave of repentance. We are not clear as to whether we may not have passed the point where repentance is possible for us. But unless it comes, there is no hope, and the "kingdom" will be passed on to some other people. *We have treated the Japanese shamefully.* We ought to confess. Individual citizens, by the thousands, ought to apologize to the Japanese. The Japanese have never been other than friendly to us. All Americans who have been in Japan simply know this to be a fact. We have gone out of our way scores of times to offend them. Our insults, both personal and

political, they have taken patiently. We have not granted a courteous people ordinary courtesies. We have affirmed that the Japanese were not a desirable people, and have "rubbed" it in on every occasion. Now as a matter of fact Japanese are intelligent, cleanly, public-spirited, religious, industrious, and quite as fit to stand among the nations of the world as Americans. In spite of all this, we have been degradingly insulting. America should get down on her knees and apologize and confess, on account of her sins against Japan, and also for her sins against China that she is committing at this minute. The good old-fashioned road of confession will alone restore faith and friendship between us.

REMEDY. If the Church is "fiddling while Rome burns" what beside "confession" have we to offer as a remedy? Certainly not fights on evolution, nor churches not doors broadened merely to admit non-immersed persons. In fact, anything in the realm of theology, philosophy, polity or ecclesiasticism will help little to put out the fires that consume humanity. It is quite possible that these things are but oil upon the fire. Here are a few things we would mention, as remedy, which will work, if they are tried. The first is the complete *outlawry of war*. Here we are an absolutist. We would put war, the warrior, the war-system—all—outside the pale of respectability. We would not give a son to war. We would not marry a daughter to a warrior, because he is engaged in the killing business. We would not contribute—so far as it is in our power—to the support of the war-system. We are anxious to see the Christian church get on this road. Then she would be doing something beside "fiddling" over evolution and immersion. She would soon get into the real work of saving the world. If she does not believe this, let her try it awhile. Next, let the Church push the *practice of racial fraternity*. If Messrs. Bryan and Darrow would begin to practice Christian brotherhood, in that little Tennessee village, they would get hold of something more alive than evolution. They would also get a taste of the kind of persecution that purifies Christians. They would probably find as the Negro preacher said he found when he referred too much to the Ten Commandments, "a coolness coming over the meeting." Seriously, we suggest to Brothers Darrow and Bryan, that they adjourn court a day (or take Sundays) and practice racial fraternity in that Tennessee town. They might do something that would immortalize them. They might win a monument. The practice of racial fraternity—that obliterates color and national and racial lines—would supply the remedy. We know this. And, really, the Church ought to know that it is one of the essentials of Christianity. And it is so much saner, more sensible, more effective than "fiddling" while the world is on fire.

These simple rules for promoting peace and good-will are workable, so far as we can see, in any part of the world. And they will turn the trick. They are, however, like certain simple rules of health—fresh air, work, cleanliness, wholesome food—they must be worked. Results will generally follow. If anyone desires a good strong wholesome brand of Christianity, that will help heal the "sores of the world," that will bring peace on earth, let him simply start in to practice racial fraternity, to outlaw war and substitute love for force. To "fiddle while Rome burns" is neither a sign of intelligence nor of sincerity.

Jottings

The annual report (1924) of the New York Central Railroad shows a net loss of passengers carried of 1,480,709, and a net loss of revenue of $6,089,027, "due in large measure to automobile and motor bus competition." We would like to be an expert in this matter, and try to forecast what the automobile is ultimately going to do to the railroad.

Bernard Shaw is as disrespectful to the League of Nations as H. G. Wells. In his conversations with Archibald Henderson he speaks of it as a "glaring imposture." England is committed to the League, yet her two acutest observers of contemporary events agree in denouncing it. Is this not something well worth thinking about?

How many persons know that the disarmament accords of the Washington Conference (1921) still remain unratified by the French? This Conference, which adjourned nearly four years ago with such a flourish of trumpets, as though the millennium were at hand, accomplished just exactly nothing at all, so far as France is concerned.

Charles W. Eliot became president of Harvard at 35; Glenn Frank has become president of the University of Wisconsin at 38. Not since the older man assumed his headship of the great college of the East, has America seen such a prospect of educational advance as that presented by the younger man's accession to the headship of the great state university of the middle West. Glen Frank has intelligence, character, initiative, courage, ideas, and a vision. His should be a great career.

The more we think of it, the more we are inclined to feel that in nothing is the "Outlawry of War" quite so valuable as in its power as a *slogan*. As such it is rapidly capturing the imagination of the world. This

is the first and indispensable step toward capturing its reason and then determining its action.

Camille Flammarion, the great French astronomer, recently dead, had a larger popular audience of readers in his own country and throughout the world, we are told, than either Pierre Loti or even Anatole France. His reputation as a scientist suffered because of this fact, as did the reputation of his distinguished countryman, Fabre, for the same reason. In both cases, however, this was unjust. We have never seen why science should not be as interesting as fiction, nor why he who makes it so should be any the less a scientist. See Huxley, for example! J. H. H.

Facts for School Histories

That nothing is really known until it is seen in its relations to other things is a lesson which Emerson has taught the American teacher, but the application of this vital principle is often far to seek in history textbooks. The need of understanding something of world history if one is to understand one's own is generally recognized, but the need of considering one's own political history in its relations to economic and vital statistics in one's own country is less understood. The future voter is usually left grossly unprepared for making judgments on public issues. Especially is he unable to judge matters which appeal to the emotions, like questions of danger and defense. The student with a high school or even a college diploma is often all at sea regarding the most vital matters. He has learned a mass of facts unrelated to real life and basis for judgment.

The writer has asked thousands of students in secondary schools and sometimes in colleges and in various states this question: How many soldiers do you think were killed in our armies or died of disease in our war of the Revolution, our war of 1812, our Mexican war, Spanish war and world war combined? I have told them that I have had a range of guesses from that of a Vermont High School girl who guessed 5,000 to that of a former teacher, a lady of high cultivation now living in Boston, who guessed 6,000,000, saying that she had not the wildest idea of the facts. My first question was to a high school youth of exceptional talent who guessed 2,000,000. I have then asked how many think we have had fewer than 2,000,000 killed. A few hands have usually been raised. Once not one hand was raised; this was in a college of colored students. Then I have asked how many think that more than 2,000,000 have been killed, and the large majority raised their hands in every single instance. Then I have told them to their amazement that the number killed is fewer than have been murdered in ten years. This number is declared by the American Bar Association to be 75,000.

The judgment of students in this matter is probably as good as that of most adults. They remember that when they went to school the chief part of their history had to do with wars and they have imagined that foreigners have cost us rivers of blood. It follows that when the Security League or the admirals and generals assure us that "the army is below the danger point," that our security depends on having more bombs and submarines; that the appropriations asked are for "bare safety against invasion such as any first-class power determined upon war could inflict upon us at any moment it chose," the average uninformed person believes it and is alarmed. He demands protection for his home and fireside at any cost and $650,000,000 a year for defense seems not too much, whatever else the country may go without. What that sum would mean if put into protection from other dangers, he does not reckon. His textbooks have not told him that every year our country loses more lives by motor cars than perished in battle in our first four wars beginning with the Revolution, and more injured and maimed than those killed.

Not until students are taught always to think of using facts comparatively, and are given the facts that need to be compared, can their judgment on vital matters that affect their future and their taxes be anything more than the result of impulse, tradition and prejudice. Does not the law of self-preservation require that mankind should learn where to look for its chief dangers and not be left in the dark? Do any of our textbooks make this clear? I suggest that a page of essential matter now omitted be added to each of our school histories. I suggest also that in textbooks on arithmetic effort should be made to teach the use of figures, not merely from the standpoint of developing accuracy and speed, but so as to help pupils visualize their application to areas, populations and money. Lack of imagination is being recognized by psychologists as a serious defect in students in business colleges. Students who can perform problems, make schedules, draw up statistics often have little power to see human beings or human relationships as affected by them, or the relation of one set of figures to another in terms of obligation or opportunity. In respect to lack of imagination it is a question whether the banker is better off than the average man who deals very little with figures. Every child should be required to work out problems whose terms would teach incidentally a vast deal that he needs to know. Let him work out how long it would take men of different salaries, from those of a letter carrier up to that of a corporation lawyer or bank president, to earn a million dollars; let him figure out how many centuries there are in a billion minutes. The cost of his town's city hall, his school, his church, should be learned and taken as a norm for calculations; likewise the population of his town and its area. A clear conception of these matters would help people to get some faint comprehension of the significance of our national expenditure and of our country's needs and what it means when our annual budget is counted in billions and our annual cost of crime about equals it. It would also teach him that great wealth is not produced by mere thrift and might set him to considering the bases of great fortunes and the relation of great fortunes to tariffs and to special privilege and other matters which have direct bearing on current history.

Suggestions for Additions to Textbooks

1. Our danger to life, prosperity and property has always been far greater from within our country than from attack of foreigners from without. No nation has ever yet declared war against us.

2. Secretary Hughes, in an address in New York on May 16, 1924, said:

So far as we can see into the future we are safe from the slightest danger from aggression. We recognize our immunity, not that we may boast, but rather that we may appreciate our duty and our responsibility. We know that in no power or possible combination of powers lies any menace to our security.

3. In the same address Secretary Hughes quoted from the report of the American Bar Association on crime:

There occurred 17 socalled murders in London in 1922, not one unsolved. In 1921 there were 63 murders in all England and Wales, while in the same year there were 260 murders in New York and 137 in Chicago. In 1921 there were 95 robberies throughout all England and Wales. In 1919 there were 121 robberies in France. In 1922 there were reported 1,445 robberies in New York City and 2,417 in Chicago.

4. Our loss of life every year from preventable accident and preventable disease is approximately 600,000.

5. Our total loss from our Civil War and from our five foreign wars, including loss from deaths in battle, wounds, disease, and every other cause is far less than that.

6. About 20,000 of these 600,000 deaths are due to automobile accidents. These figures of loss every year in both war and peace do not include the immense number who are annually ill or injured from preventable accident and preventable disease. The financial loss from such illness and accidents as well as the deaths would amount to many billions of dollars.

7. The total annual loss by crime in the United States is estimated at $3,000,000,000. This, with the indirect loss, is estimated at about the sum which our government has loaned foreign governments, i.e., $10,000,000,000.

As Reported by the War Department

The losses in our wars are as follows:—

War	Battle	Disease	Other Causes	Total
Revolutionary War	4,044			
War of 1812	1,877			
Mexican War	1,549	10,986		
Spanish War	968	5,438		
World War	51,002	58,320		
	59,438	75,244	9,215	209,926

Civil war is in another category. International wars can end through effective world-organization long before the possibility of civil wars will end.

The losses of the Civil War as given from the War Department are: Battle deaths, 110,000; disease, 224,586; other causes, 24,872; total, 359,528. The figures from the World War include deaths abroad and at home, and also include deaths of marines in the navy. These figures are subject to further revision, as men are dying still from injuries in war. In 1920 the sum total of all recorded deaths in all wars for every cause was 502,427.

Lucia Ames Mead.

The Story of My Mind

XVII

I cannot claim that I had opportunities for the study of society that may not come to any observant person, but from my early manhood I became deeply interested in problems of sociology. Some of its more primary and essential features were presented to me in the pioneer and agricultural environment which influenced my boyhood. Later on, in Wisconsin, I saw rather intimately the conditions of farm life and the manner in which it relates individuals and families to each other. In Grand Haven I came somewhat into contact with poverty, and with families which were in a condition of distress from sickness or want of employment. At that time along the shore of Lake Michigan were hundreds of families attempting to reduce the pine barrens, which had been cut over for lumber, to a state of cultivation. They were struggling with adverse conditions, including the destruction by severe winters of all the results of their labors in growing grapes, strawberries, peaches, and other fruits. Their poverty, and the pioneer conditions of their effort to produce farms on a poor soil and against the destructive powers of nature, enabled me to realize something of the manner in which men in all ages have trecked into the wilderness and opened new regions to agriculture and to civilization.

In Indianapolis I had an opportunity of coming into closer relations with poverty, crime and vice. At this time I had become deeply interested in all the social problems then attracting attention, and I studied them in books, reports, conferences, and in contact with the actual conditions themselves. The problem of poverty was especially presenting itself, and the charities of cities were being reorganized on the model which was presented at Elberfeld in Germany. An old society for the relief of poverty had existed in the city, which held its annual meeting in one of the churches, and I attended. A score of persons were present, no interest was shown, but officers for the next year were elected. Oscar McCulloch of the Plymouth Congregational Church, the only one of that denomination in the city, was made the president, though he was not present. He was of the most liberal wing of his sect, a man of strong sympathies and a level head, and greatly interested in all problems of social betterment. He proceeded to reorganize the charities society on the basis of the Associated Charities, then being for the first time established in all cities, and widely discussed. He brought about my election as one of the managers of the new organization, and I secured the place of its paid superintendent to one of the members of my congregation.

At the first meeting of the newly organized society the president used the phrase, "The poor ye have with ye always." An inward and most emphatic protest was my reply to the application of an old expression to new conditions; and, though poverty was evidently present in Indianapolis in large measure, I felt convinced that it ought not to be there or anywhere. I could not have formulated my protest in any very positive and rational terms, but I was convinced that poverty might be and ought to be abolished. However, I gave much time to the work of the Associated Charities, backed up the president in ways possible to me, and did much visiting in the homes of the applicants for relief. In coming into intimate touch with the poor I felt that I had no right to treat them otherwise than I would those who were prosperous. While not all persons in distress were victims of untoward conditions, a very large proportion were in needy circumstances from no fault of their own. This intimate contact with poverty, vice and crime made a strong impression on me, and had its lasting effect in

finally shaping my conclusions as to the nature of human society and the measures to be taken for its improvement.

In Dedham I had another opportunity for the study of one of the most important expressions of modern social interests. For six years I was a member of the school-board, and during four of them its president. I faithfully attended the meetings of the board, gave close attention to its affairs, and visited the schools with much regularity. The problems of education had a profound interest for me, and I regarded them as of great importance. While I did not suppose that education would cure poverty, vice and crime, I was convinced that many of these social defects result from a failure in education to bring about the results which it ought to produce. I gave much attention to the study of educational problems, to the question of free text-books, the adoption of physiology and temperance hygiene in the schools, both of which were initiated in Massachusetts during my connection with the Dedham school-board, and to the question of proper ventilation for the school-buildings. I made a thorough study of this last problem, visited many schoolhouses and other buildings in and about Boston, and sought for some system which would give good results at a minimum expense. My failure to find anything of the kind at that time convinced me that our science is in some directions lamentably deficient in its ability to cope with practical problems of the first importance.

During my last year on the Dedham school-board I had a prolonged controversy with the Rev. Robert J. Johnson, rector of the Roman Catholic parish in Dedham and West Roxbury at that time. He was a member of the school-board, and he was quite persistent in his demands that his people should receive proper attention. The board never questioned the religious connections of a teacher, and treated all pupils alike, in so far as that is possible. The cause of the discussion was the adoption of Swinton's "Outlines of the World's History" for use in the schools, whereupon Father Johnson published three articles in the Dedham *Standard* condemning the book. I replied, and the controversy went on for several months. When it was concluded, without consulting me, Father Johnson published the articles with a long introduction and an extended appendix, making a volume of 230 pages.

I had no quarrel whatever with the Catholic Church or with its theological teachings. More than once in the pulpit I had spoken in the most friendly terms of that church, and deprecated all attacks upon it by conversationalists or by secret societies. I especially deprecated the assumption of many persons that the Catholic Church was a menace to our free institutions. These expressions of my convictions were received with dissent on the part of my hearers, who generally, however, made no comment whatever on what was said. What I objected to on the part of the Roman Catholic Church was its position on education, and its right to withdraw its children into schools of its own. I was therefore between two fires, hatred of the Catholic Church on the one side, largely the result of inherited traditions of the Protestant controversy, and the demand of the church that it should have control of the education of the children of its families. The convictions I arrived at then I retain at the present, that our attitude in regard to parochial schools promises a serious and prolonged controversy in the future, a compelling of the secularization of education, and the demanding that all children shall be educated in the state schools.

I have touched upon some of the ways in which I came into direct contact with problems of social evolution, and learned to know them at first hand. They were very limited, but used to such advantage as to give me a definite idea of how society acts in bringing about its results. At the same time, I was studying many of the practical problems coming forward at that period, such as the sweated industries, then being discussed in a lively manner, intemperance, sexual vice, crime, the death penalty, and the various labor questions as they appeared. I read widely on these subjects, I attended the meetings held for their discussion, and I sought in all ways within my reach to understand them. They seemed to me of the most vital importance, and as demanding some rational and humane solution. It is true, that most of the discussions and the books dealt with these problems from the point of view of the immediate demand, and offered no final solution; but I was convinced that such defects in the constitution of society were needless, and ought to be brought to an end by methods other than meeting the immediate pressure of social conditions.

My studies of practical social problems confirmed my conviction that the evils which were being studied, and for which remedies were sought, were the result of the evolutionary process. I regarded all phases of social expression as results of those processes by which worlds had been produced, organisms had come into existence, and man had advanced from the animal into the human type. I applied this theory to religion, to ethics, to industries, to political manifestations, and to all human history. I read the books in which this conception was presented, and they seemed to me convincing and satisfactory as interpretations of social conditions. Society is an evolution, and advance is being made according to the laws of universal progress and retrogression. When the conditions are favorable progress results, but when they are adverse degeneration follows.

One of the first scientific interpreters of society I read was Herbert Spencer, of whose "Study of Sociology" I came into possession in the very year of its publication, 1873. I had already read his "Social Statics"; and I secured his "Data of Sociology," the first volume of his "Principles of Sociology," immediately on its publication in 1876. These volumes introduced me to the conception of sociology as a genuinely scientific interpretation of history and of all social relations. Spencer made me familiar with the idea of society as an organism, as growing and integrating its units and functions in the same manner as a plant or animal. In the first volume of his "Principles of Sociology" he worked out this idea with great elaboration and minuteness of detail.

Another work of this period, published in 1876 in the International Scientific Series, was Walter Bagehot's "Physics and Politics." This book applied Darwin's teachings to the interpretation of society, and followed Spencer in dealing with it after the manner of physical science. It was widely discussed and frequently quoted, and produced a deep impression upon the thought about society in the years following its appearance. Although nearly forgotten now, no volume has produced such a wide and deep impression as this little book, partly because it was written in an attractive style, and partly because it applied the principle of evolution to the interpretation of society in an effective manner. Bage-

hot showed how a "cake of custom" is formed, as he called it, or how tradition determines social activities in large degree; and how discussion breaks this cake and permits of new interests and associations.

In his "Descent of Man," published in 1871, Darwin also dealt with the nature of society, especially with reference to his law of natural selection. He saw that while the struggle for existence among animals is between individuals, as to which shall be able to live and breed its kind, the struggle between men is not so much individual as social. In early society it is not a fight to live between one man and another, but between groups, as to which shall have a given territory for its hunting and fishing, and as to which shall control the destinies of the other by its conquest and absorption into itself. Very many of the Darwinians, led by the teachings of political economy, assumed that the social process is one of a struggle of individual with individual; but Darwin saw more clearly, though he failed to convince his followers who dealt with sociological problems.

During the seventies of the last century, when these social problems were receiving a very large degree of attention, the works of Henry Maine on law and institutions in early society were widely read. They included "Ancient Law," 1861; "Early History of Institutions," 1875; and "Early Laws and Customs," 1883. In these volumes, products of his studies of early institutions in India, Ireland, and elsewhere, Maine showed how laws had come into existence and developed; how the family had been instituted and advanced into the city and state; and how ethics had been shaped to meet imperative human needs. He claimed that all human institutions developed out of the family life, that the first form of the family was that called patriarchal, in which the father or the oldest male is ruler and lawgiver. According to him all subsequent developments of social and political institutions have in some degree retained this first form in survival. If Maine's works did not wholly agree with those of Darwin and Spencer, it was because he approached his subject as a jurist, and they from the point of view of biology; but he as well as they made it appear that society is a growth, that it has definitely progressed according to fundamental laws of evolution.

A most important work of this period was Tylor's "Primitive Culture," published in 1871. This work was more fundamental than those of any of the others except Darwin, and it has retained its place as of primary importance. It gave a radically new point of view, and one which has been accepted as of a fundamental nature. Tylor preceded Spencer in showing that primitive man views nature as animated, and that all causes in the world around man are regarded as personal. The sun, earth, wind are persons, and so are all objects in nature. Whatever takes place, as the blowing of the wind, the growth of vegetation, the succession of the seasons, is the result of the activities of spiritual beings, who are of like character with man himself. To this conception, which Tylor found to be universal among early races of men, he gave the name of animism. A large part of his work was devoted to the interpretation of animism, but he also showed how culture is begun, how persistently the early types of it continue into later ages, how language originates and what purpose it serves, the real nature of mythology, one of the products of animism, and the origin and growth of rites and ceremonies. Although Tylor's interpretation of animism has been somewhat modified in recent years, it still remains a most fruitful idea in the explanation of early human beliefs. Another illuminating idea of his was that of "survival in culture," which means that ideas or customs once shaped and established persist into later ages, when they have been virtually outgrown as interpretations of fact or as related to actual human needs. As an instance, we wear two buttons on the back of our frock coats, not because they serve any purpose, but because when all gentlemen wore swords they served to retain the sword-belt in its place. As another Easter is celebrated in spring because in name and in its customs it retains the rites and purposes of a very early spring-time festival of the renewing of vegetation after the passing of Winter.

Another book was John Fiske's "Cosmic Philosophy," published in two volumes in 1875. This extended the teachings of Darwin, brought them into the interpretation of a world philosophy, and made more impressive and universal the conception of evolution.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(To Be Continued.)

Definitions

[During recent weeks we have been running these "Definitions" in JOTTINGS. In answer to request, we are printing the complete list herewith.—EDITORS.]

War—wholesale murder.

Peace—an interval between wars, like the interval between the rounds of a prize-fight or the halves of a football game.

Soldier—a man trained not to die but to kill for his country.

General—a gamester who uses men as pawns, and nations as stakes.

Army Chaplain—a man who thinks that, if the Nazarene were living today, he would wear a military uniform, salute the flag, and be addressed as Major Jesus Christ, of the 4th Regiment, Field Artillery.

War Correspondent—a journalist sent to the front in wartime to conceal the facts that can't be told.

Diplomat—an official whose business it is to lie for his country.

Secretary of State—the official agent of banks and other private investors in foreign lands.

War Minister—the organizer of murder.

Patriot—a man who loves his country for what there is in it.

National Honor—a motive appealed to by nations when they propose to do something especially dishonorable.

Armaments—weapons wielded by nations, under the camouflage of defense, to intimidate equals and to bully inferiors in the great offensives of imperialism.

Free Speech—a privilege granted all citizens in peace and other quiet times when there is nothing particular to say.

Propaganda—lies.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

THE STUDY TABLE

Thoughts on Patriotism

[Being an Informal Review of "Patriotism Is Not Enough."]

"This book,"* says Mr. Holmes in his preface, "is a simple attempt to analyze the sentiment of patriotism and find out its constituent elements, especially its good and bad."

That patriotism is a sentiment, then, and that it has both good and bad elements, is our point of departure—the basis of our thought on the problem it represents.

And those of us who witnessed the horrors of that orgy of patriotism we call the World War realize that patriotism is truly a problem. It is, indeed, one of the largest and most complex of all current problems.

To some, patriotism at its best is a psychological fault—something to reject, to eliminate from individual and group consciousness.

To others—to the majority, presumably—patriotism is a trait that smacks of divinity, an essential characteristic of healthy social thinking. A man without instinctive patriotism is, or should be, an outcast, they say. Society has no place, no use, no patience, for him. To be "a man without a country," is to be accursed.

But perhaps the truth about patriotism is that it is neither a vice nor a virtue, but merely a phenomenon of the emotions impossible to analyze adequately.

Of one thing we may be certain: that the motivation of patriotism is obscure. Very few men could satisfactorily explain why they are patriotic or why they are not. It is easy to say: "I love my country," but it is not easy to answer the question: "Why?" In a like manner, it is not difficult to say: "I do not love my country," but it is hard to support the declaration with reasoned arguments. Some one has said: "Patriotism is prejudice," and it would appear that the lack of patriotism also is prejudice.

On the whole, Mr. Holmes has undertaken a task of tremendous proportions.

For one thing, the instinct toward patriotism is not only obscure but it is likewise remote; its origin is lost in the haze of antiquity. And we can know, by the nature of the matter, only the later phases of its manifestation. That patriotism is not exempt from the law of Evolution is plain; patriotism today is not what patriotism was at the beginning of the Christian era, nor even what it was in 1500 or in 1800.

The instinct, per se, has probably remained much the same through the centuries, but not its manifestation.

And Mr. Holmes realizes this fully. So that it is with the varying exemplifications of patriotism as we know it in our own time that he deals in the latter part of this study.

"The present problem of patriotism," he says, "is comic, ironic, sardonic, but fundamentally tragic. Its character in all these aspects was projected in perfect focus by the Great War."

The present problem, then, is what chiefly concerns us.

But

of course, the War was not merely a drama of patriotism. Such a phenomenon is not susceptible of so easy and simple an analysis. Rather was it a complex of multitudinous forces—political, diplomatic, economic, social, spiritual—of which the economic were undoubtedly the most important.

The things, therefore, identified with patriotism—the causes of patriotism—are politics, diplomacy, economics, social interests and spiritual instincts—of which economics is undoubtedly the most important.

Patriotism is an effect, "a central fact," as well as a cause.

Politics, diplomacy, economics, etc., create patriotism, as patriotism creates soldiers.

Now, since we know that politics and diplomacy are forms of war and economics war itself, and since we have it on the authority of one of the greatest and the most ruthless of soldiers that "war is hell," it appears to follow that the causes, the elements, of patriotism are truly allied with the baser instincts of mankind.

Patriotism may be an expression of love for a country or it may be an expression of hate for a country. Love of England sent no more men to the front in the World War than hate of Germany.

Patriotism, indeed, is a psychological coin with two sides. Roosevelt held, in effect, that a citizen must not only love his own country but must hate all other countries. And Roosevelt doubtless expressed majority opinion.

"The War," Mr. Holmes affirms, "would not have come had not the men and women of all countries been patriotic. Patriotism, in the ordinary sense of that word, is as necessary to war as flame to fire. If every citizen of France in 1914 had been a Jaures, and every citizen of Germany a Liebknecht, the battle of the Marne would never have been fought. But these citizens were not Jaures or Liebknecht—they were patriots! What thy saw, or thought they saw, in those terrific August days was their country in peril of invasion. What they felt was a sudden love of their country and a passionate desire to save her from impending injury and destruction.

We are to understand from this that we cannot have war without patriotism, and it appears to be a concomitant fact that we cannot have patriotism without war. But we may find, later on, that Mr. Holmes does not over-estimate the significance of this second thought.

But before we come to that, let us notice that the element of fear enters into the problem. Citizens go to war because they are afraid of something. It may well be that they are patriotic for a similar "reason."

Those who tried to fathom the psychology of the actual combatants in the World War found that few of them held fatalistic views so far as the personal result was concerned. Very few indeed of the soldiers en route to France were hampered by the thought that they would fall in battle. Some believed in the possibility, but only a handful in the inevitability or even the probability of being killed. If every soldier called to the colors knew beyond all shadow of doubt that he would be slain in the struggle, not a corporal's guard would respond to the summons to shoulder arms.

What they fear is a change of a violent character in the system of government or the conditions of living to which they are accustomed. They go out to fight for the *status quo,* whatever it may be.

In brief, what they fear is the horror of war—for war has always been horrible, and the dread of it is bred into the bones of every normal man.

Their love of country, then, is far less the emotion of mingled love, admiration and respect we have been taught to consider it than a deep, perhaps subconscious fear of change.

Patriotism is a conservative phenomenon as we know it today. It is something that can be, and is, used by

* "Patriotism Is Not Enough," by John Haynes Holmes, published by Greenberg Inc., New York.

the powers and the parties most interested in the preservation of the *status quo*.

Few men in our time will fight for their country as it might be if justice ruled. They fight, rather, for their country as it is or as they think it was at some earlier time.

And patriotism certainly implies belligerency. A patriot who will not fight is not noticeably popular among either real or sham patriots.

But however all this may be, Mr. Holmes sees that: " 'These dead'—ten millions of them!—not only 'died in vain,' as the living endured and suffered in vain; they actually wrought to their own annihilation."

Admitting this, he still believes that patriotism is "the noblest passion of the soul" and says: "Man was betrayed by his own best self."

"Patriotism is a virtue!" he insists. "Who will, or can, deny it? Yet the plain truth of the matter is that man is being devoured of this virtue. His very nobility is proving to be his curse. . . Modern history threatens to record the fate of nations devastated and perhaps destroyed by devotion."

H. G. Wells in his "Outline of History" shows us that Athens, Rome and Carthage, if not Spain and France, fell because of a "narrow patriotism."

They fought not so much for their own homes as to capture those of others.

And certainly patriotism of this type is not only a fault, a vice, but a menace. The neighbors of a nation inspired by the type of patriotism which is nothing but rampant and savage nationalism—chauvinism, to use another name for the same disease—may well tremble.

Such patriotism requires unfaltering prosperity. No Roman patriots survived the collapse of the Roman state. The failure of that grandiose conception of imperialism convinced the dullest of its followers of the fallacy of its pretensions. Not even Rome could gratify the lust for conquest, the passion for loot, that animated her patriots.

And now that we have a smaller world we may well begin to question the advisability of propaganda for the preservation and expansion of the patriotic instinct. What we can endorse, what we must approve, is every effort like this that seeks the sublimation of the patriotic instinct.

Mr. Holmes goes deeper into the character of that instinct than can we, who lack his genius and his insight. He sees that: "Patriotism, as love of country, represents the culmination of what we have called the social self. But this is not the end!"

No; mankind is still so young, so recent a phenomenon on the earth, that it can hardly be said that we have reached the mature state of any of our insticts.

The question in Mr. Holmes's mind is as to whether this particular emotion is to be developed into a power for good or a still greater power for evil. Is patriotism to be elevated into a blessing or is it to remain a curse? Is it to became a *bona fide* virtue or is it to remain a wanton vice?

Patriotism, *per se*, is not enough! In the words of Edith Cavell, Mr. Holmes expresses the central theme of his book.

There is an old German folk tale about some people who had a demon in their house. They decided to "live" the demon into an angel. Years passed and the task was hard, but in the end they won.

How are we to "live" the demon of patriotism into an angel?

Beyond this love of country is there not a deeper, higher love—that of humanity as a whole? . . . Is not this the logic of history—that larger, wider patriotism which shall embrace mankind?

Mr. Holmes answers: "So the noblest souls in every age have thought and taught—so the bravest souls have lived."

We recall the examples of Romain Rolland, who not only stood "above the battle" but gave of his wisdom and love to all parties; of E. D. Morel, who before and during the World War as well as after its official close labored to discover and make known the true causes of the strife; and of Jenkin Lloyd Jones, who loved all the battle-torn peoples and wrote a beautiful and timely book to prove it.

We recall the example of Mr. Holmes himself, the head and front of American pacifism during the struggle.

But the masses are not wise nor noble nor brave. We wish they were. There would be no problem, then.

As matters stand in this generation, the masses are sheeplike, dull, stupid, cynical, corrupt; just as the majority of their leaders are vicious, degenerate and cruel. The world is a madhouse. What but a race diseased and vile could tolerate kings and presidents, chancellors and captains, like those who blundered into the least pardonable and most costly of wars?

The masses have taught themselves to believe that a noble impulse is something to be ashamed of.

Their patriotism is more apparent than real. Their flag is the dollar bill.

But the instinct toward a true and noble patriotism is there, just the same; deep-down, hidden, inhibited, feared even, it smoulders in the soul. It requires a man with a genius for hope and faith to discover it, a man, in fine, like Mr. Holmes.

The herd instinct, he believes, has been developed, can be developed, must be developed.

The nations must realize their interdependence, must see that they are members of the same family, must be as just and loving toward all the members as one brother is to another.

But here we have another difficulty. The brotherhood of man is a doctrine that is theoretically accepted by all peoples, and yet it remains just a theory. Members of the smallest families quarrel, have feuds, hate and fear one another. Where is there a home totally free from disharmony? Where a party or society or movement where all are agreed? How can we expect of nations a higher standard than that we embrace as individuals?

Oh, the path will be long and the way will be hard!

"The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," is just as distant as it would be ineffective. Not by parliaments or federations is Man to find his soul.

Only education can solve that problem. Only knowledge can make man humble, only the humble man is just.

The Babbitts do not stand entranced, inspired, uplifted under the pageant of the stars. They stand longing for a scheme to arrange the stars as a sky-sign to advertise their favorite town or club or brand of automobile.

And yet for all our personal pessimism there is something happening in the world that proves that Mr. Holmes is right.

The principle of federation is at work. Nations retain their names and a few local customs, but the centers of control become less numerous. There are those who say there are now but two capitals—New York and

London—and that they rule the world. Where the money is there also is the power; and Paris, Rome, Berlin, Vienna, Tokyo and even Moscow bow when the money-lords command.

Wealth is coming into ever fewer and fewer hands, political power, the sciences, the arts, and all the cruder expressions of human ingenuity, follow. There are, for example, fewer poets, fewer painters, fewer experimental scientists than there were a hundred or two hundred years ago; the others are rhymsters, copyists and "industrial" experts. The rank and file of the people are less capable of original, creative thought than their great-great-grandparents.

Now all this trend, mechanistic as it is in its present state, is toward unity—if only the unity of inertia. A mass-mind is being perfected, and our work is to leaven, to quicken, to vitalize, to socialize the mass-mind.

Unthinking loyalty to the state, which Mr. Holmes sees as the modern synonym for patriotism, it seems to us must be permitted to develop to its full and unlovely maturity. Then, when it is completely gathered and grown, it may be metamorphosed into the loyalty that is all-inclusive, the humanitarianism that is born of love, the mercy that is more than justice.

> These things shall be—a loftier race
> Than e'er the world hath known shall rise.

Meantime, Mr. Holmes invites our consideration of the problem in all its phases, asks us to think of it creatively, pleads with us not to retard the coming of the new era, indeed urges us to run to meet it.

And this is good, and it is stimulating.

He has analyzed patriotism, with fine tolerance and appreciation of values, he has weighed all the evidence, set it in order, listed the elements good and bad, and suggested the first steps to be attempted—the internationalization of churches, schools, learned societies; the extension and reform of education; the promotion of the movement to outlaw war; the organization of a world government—less distant than might seem, despite recent failures like the League of Nations and the World Court; "the democratization of our economic as well as our political life—the capture of the materials and instruments of production, as well as the institutions of government, by the peoples"; "the organization of a world industry"; "conscious unity with the whole of life"—which is salvation.

Our business is to prepare for peace, rather than for war; for fellowship, rather than for the selfish, greedy, extravagant, noisy, hypocritical thing we know as the patriotism of today.

Our ideal is not loyalty, but love; not possession, but expression; not taking, but giving.

New patriotism for old!

We have written here not a review of Mr. Holmes's book but rather some thoughts born of reading it.

This remains to be said: that it is not only stimulating and inspiring because it is a marshalling of facts and a voicing of practical ideals, but also because it is beautifully written. From the point of view of literary style, of measured and musical prose, of organization and technical treatment, it may be judged the best of Mr. Holmes's books.

It ranks with G. Lowes Dickinson's "Modern Symposium," Allen Upward's "New Word," H. J. Massingham's "People and Things," and M. P. Willcock's "Toward New Horizons," as a classic of idealism.

The hope of the world is in such pioneer thought, in such skilled criticism, in such hopeful optimism, in such faith in the ultimate victory of the race.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

CORRESPONDENCE

GLENN FRANK AT WISCONSIN

Dear UNITY:

"Academic freedom is menaced by the spirit of intolerance that has in the wake of the war seized not only the general community but many members of the academic community as well. During the war non-conformity was treason. To do anything save to cry with the pack was disloyalty. Professors had to turn propagandists or rest under suspicion. That sort of thing dies hard. It holds over into the post-war period. During the war certain types of minds found great joy in the heresy hunt carried on by organizations which felt the heavy responsibility of playing nurse maid to the American mind. Minds of this sort find it very hard to surrender the joys of the chase now that the war is over. And the thing that complicates matters is the fact that many of these inquisitorial heresy hunters were professors. Many of the professors who became active in propagandist organizations during the war disgraced American scholarship by their intemperate writings. These particular professors struck a blow at the freedom of their own profession by the hysterical intolerance they displayed during the war."

These words, written by Glenn Frank, in the columns of the *Century Magazine* do not indicate that the Whaley-Eaton news service is right in saying that the selection of Dr. Frank, "a conservative," for the Presidency of the University of Wisconsin means that the radical hold on the state is definitely being broken.

In writing the words which I have quoted, Mr. Frank might have had in mind Wisconsin University where the professors during the war, with almost unanimity signed a "round robin" condemning Senator La Follette for not displaying war hysteria, where he was burned in effigy on the campus, where his picture was removed from the university "hall of fame," where professors were demoted, because of German sympathy, and where George F. Comings (afterwards lieutenant-governor) was ousted after the war was over for introducing a resolution at a gathering of farmers demanding amnesty for political prisoners.

During the war and until a comparatively recent date, Wisconsin had a pro-war governor, (of German extraction) a man of great wealth, indicated by the fact that he has paid the largest income tax of any citizen of the state. The board of regents was controlled by his appointees until 1920, when, as vacancies occurred, liberals were appointed on the board, until now, when the term of office of the last of Governor Philipp's appointees has expired, every member of the board is a progressive.

An important factor in bringing about the revolution, first in the board of trustees, and now in the policy of the University, was the passage in the legislature of a measure providing for farmer-labor representation on the board of regents.

That the new President of Wisconsin University is not only a staunch advocate of academic freedom, and freedom of speech generally, but is also a liberal in his views on religion is indicated by a story which he told of a minister who left his pulpit and went into a secular profession because of opposition to his preaching.

"He had packed his church to standing room capacity. Men who had not darkened the church doors for many years became ardent attendants, but many of the regulars in his church grew doubtful.

"The instinct of heresy hunting seemingly as inseparable from some natures as hunger or thirst began to manifest itself. . . . He talked a good deal about the Carpenter of Nazareth, but always in terms of candid intimacy that left the impression that he was discussing a contemporary living leader. . . . He was ministering to a community that was one of those hermetically sealed pockets of population, still to be found in our country into which had filtered nothing of that modern thought which is rescuing Christianity from the hair-splitting theologians and sinister interests who have colored it with their prejudices or bent it to their purposes."

Further explaining his determination to give up his church, this preacher said:

"They've put into the mouths of us preachers a vocabulary that has little more relation to the original Christianity of the

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

ARE THE FUNDAMENTALISTS WORTH FIGHTING?

No one denies that Fundamentalist propaganda has resulted, during the past five years, in the practical outlawry of the theory of evolution as a basis of science teaching in a number of states of the Union; and it is well known that several teachers of science and of history have been forced to resign because they insisted upon their right to utilize the formula of evolution in their class-rooms.

Nevertheless, the position has been taken by some evolutionists that the attacks of the anti-evolutionists should be contemptuously ignored. This attitude is, presumably, based upon the assumption that the antics of the Fundamentalists are not to be taken seriously, that freedom in science teaching in enlightened communities will continue as heretofore.

Is This Point of View Tenable?

Many teachers, and numbers of citizens whose work brings them into direct contact with the mass of the population do not find the question merely an academic one, especially in view of the fact that banishment of evolution from our schools in favor of the creation story of Genesis has already been accomplished by legislative enactment in some states of the Union. And it must be admitted that the anti-evolution movement is rapidly gaining in momentum.

If the struggle to preserve freedom in our schools and colleges has already been defeated here and there, what will be the situation when the Fundamentalists' reactionary wave reaches full flood tide? *And the fight has just begun!* Should it be a one-sided battle, with the Mediaevalists alone going directly to the people, and to the law-makers and public officials, —with their misrepresentations *uncontroverted?*

Is it no concern of the better educated men and women of these States that a pall of intellectual darkness is being drawn over the heads of the people at large? Is legal abolishment of freedom of research and teaching in the south and west of no vital interest to the people of the north and east?

A Question Now of Majority Votes

So far as adherents of the rigidly orthodox school are concerned, we know that in many states the pro-Fundamentalists form a majority of the citizenry. In regard to other states, it should be remembered that on the issue of the Book of Genesis verses Evolution—which is, of course, the real issue—the Fundamentalists would be supported silently but systemically at the polls by the Roman Catholic voters; for this Church, as everyone knows, is antagonistic to the theory of transformism *as applied to Man.* Add to these groups many "plain citizens" who, while more or less indifferent to theological doctrines, emotionally resent the supposed imputation that they are "the descendants of monkeys" (the popular conception of "Darwinism"), and you have a political force to contend with which may well lead to outlawry of freedom of teaching even in states where a more enlightened policy seems, to some observers, to be invulnerable to the attacks of Fundamentalist opposition. If the principle is once established that the "guesses" and "hypotheses" of ultra-orthodox bigots should properly prevail over the findings of scientists and educational experts,—as is claimed by the Fundamentalists—the culture of the Republic is doomed!

It is to be feared that those scientists and laymen who believe that "nothing need be done about it" are too far out of touch with the actual situation. Even in states not named in news dispatches as under the domination of reactionary sectarian forces, instructors in schools and colleges are even now greatly hampered in their work.

A Teacher's Experience

From a letter at hand referring to conditions in a western state where there is at present *apparently* no organized Fundamentalist campaign, a real light is thrown on the present situation:

"As a teacher of many years' experience, I realize the danger of permitting organized theology to dictate the policies or teachings of our public schools; and I have observed with genuine alarm the sinister encroachments of prejudice and religious intolerance.

"Public school teachers now hardly dare to have minds of their own. How can we expect courageous and independent thought from students, if those who teach them dare not think—how can we expect our boys and girls to love liberty if those who teach them are mental slaves? And yet right now, today, if I myself were to express publicly in this community the views I express to you in joining your organization, I doubt very much if I should be able to retain my position."

Persecution by Fundamentalists

A few instances of this persecution by Fundamentalist bigotry may be cited:

Quite recently, Dr. and Mrs. Frank Reed were dismissed from the Missouri Wesleyan College on the ground that they were too liberal in their interpretation of the Bible; and Prof. C. E. Fothergill was obliged to resign his chair in Baylor University, Waco, Texas, because he had told his pupils that Noah's Ark was not large enough to contain a pair of every species of animals on the earth (numbering some 500,000).

Outlawing Freedom of Teaching

In Oklahoma and Tennessee the teaching of evolution in the schools has been outlawed by the State Legislatures; in North Carolina by the Governor and the State Board of Education. The Poole resolution to place the House of the General Assembly of North Carolina on record as opposing the teaching of "any theory of evolution linking man with the lower orders of life" was killed on second reading, the vote being 64 to 46. In Texas the House voted 81 to 9 to outlaw evolutionary theory in the schools, but the Senate defeated the bill by a small majority. The Regents of the State University then passed a resolution against employing teachers favoring evolution; and a similar resolution was passed by the Florida legislature. In Kentucky, the resolution to make the teaching of evolution unlawful lost in the Legislature by only one vote, and in other states by dangerously small majorities. The Legislature of Georgia refused an appropriation for maintenance of a state library on the ground that books on evolution were likely to be in the library. The resignation of Dr. Henry Fox, professor of biology in Mercer University, Macon, Georgia, was demanded because of his support of the theory of evolution, and the second volume of a masterly treatise on this subject by a well-known university professor recently appeared under the imprint of a private publisher, because the authorities of the university in question had been warned not to permit its publication by the university press.

A Startling Development

In a letter from an eminent educator occurs the following startling new development: "I find that the publishers have been effectively intimidated by the Fundamentalist agitation, for *they are all insisting upon high school text books with evolution left out.*"

Not much is being printed about the question at issue in regard to Maryland, but it is significant that Dr. Henry S. Delaney resigned as president and trustee of Goucher College (Baltimore), because Dr. Sturgis Bell was not dismissed for upholding the principles of evolution.

Only after having signed a statement in which he expressed regret for "any damage" caused to the institution as a result of a chapel address, in which he declared he was unable to find conflict between the organic theory of evolution and the "biblical account of the creation," a professor at a Kentucky College was permitted to resume work with his classes.

Repudiation of Lessons of History and Science

When the presidents of nine California colleges brought in a unanimous report endorsing the text books used in the schools, an editorial in the most widely circulated denominational journal in the United States replied that "it is not for a group of educators to decide what they wish to teach the youth, but for the fathers and mothers to say what they wish to have taught to their children." This despite the fact that the vast majority of "fathers and mothers" know nothing whatever about the theory of evolution, or about science as such. "In various states," continues the editorial, "movements are now on foot to have the problem *settled by legislation* . . . There is never any doubt about any great problem when people look to God's Word for the solution, *and not to history or science.*"

Besides their fervid activities in the Southern States, the Fundamentalists are now working intensively in West Virginia, Minnesota, North Dakota, Indiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Arizona, Oregon and California, and their field of operations constantly grows. Not even the northern seaboard Atlantic states, which feel most safe from this propaganda, are ac-

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Carpenter than the Greek alphabet has to the Chinese language. Sooner or later, we preachers will have to scrap that vocabulary. We can go on trying to pour new meanings into old phrases, but there is a limit to that sort of thing."

This does not sound like the talk of a man who in his boyhood days was assisting Billy Sunday in revival meetings. But perhaps Mr. Frank's sitting at the feet of Billy Sunday in his boyhood *is a prime cause* of the reaction which makes him an outstanding liberal today.

Madison, Wisconsin CHESTER C. PLATT.

tually so; if menaced in no other way, it must be remembered that a two-thirds majority of the states can ultimately pass an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the campaign of the Fundamentalists is nation-wide, and growing ever bolder. They are backed by great organizations of vast wealth. They have been gaining ground with alarming rapidity. Why should they not, with no organized resistance—no counter-teaching that actually reaches the masses?

Is it not high time that the friends of science and of freedom in teaching step in to the breach? Shall we allow men of science to be discharged from colleges because they teach what all but a few (inconsequential) scientists endorse? Shall we permit future generations of Americans to grow up in ignorance of scientific facts which can be interpreted rationally only on the theory of evolution? It is precisely those of us who are not materially interested in the fight who should put up the greatest protest.

But protest is not enough. We must emulate the Fundamentalists, who do not scorn to go to the common people—the "taxpayers," as Bryan puts it. The "mob" believes Bryan and his followers. They hear no contrary evidence. And—aside from the question of the need for general enlightenment and civilization in a democracy—the "taxpayers" are important, not only because they are human beings with minds that can and should be educated, but also because *they have the vote,* and because *for the first time in history a question of science is being submitted for decision to the uninformed and prejudiced masses.* Our work therefore must be not merely negative, but constructive—educational. We must bring the evidences for evolution to "the man on the street."

Will not you who read this help us in this work? We need your financial support; yes: without funds we can do nothing. But just as much we need your moral support, your co-operation in spirit, your helpful encouragement. We have already the assistance of many men and women distinguished in science and in other fields but we need you as well. No educational work among the common people can be valueless; it can never be a waste of time and energy. We are trying hard to *do* something. Will you help?

MAYNARD SHIPLEY, *President,*
The Science League of America.
618 Liberty Bank Building,
948 Market Street,
San Francisco, California

The Science League of America would be glad to furnish copies of this leaflet.

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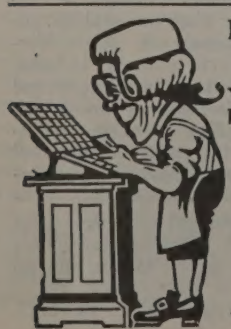

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